614
613
578

tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

554

There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The won gweng is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

554
791

The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peace-maker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jakoth* or *won koth*).

619
791

Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the policican importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original *won dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

1. The *dho keny*: 'the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* XX, 1950, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

on which a *ganda*, homestead site, of one of them is situated ; but it means that he has a right to cultivate somewhere in that district. There is in this way an overlapping of rights in a territory.

Among the Luo ownership of agricultural land is vested in the lineage and every member of a lineage which owns an area has the right to cultivate in it. The individual has only rights of use, which are hereditary so long as the land is maintained in use ; but a man cannot sell the land, for his whole lineage and maybe other lineages as well have rights in it ; nor can he reclaim it if he has left it for some years and it is being cultivated by another man. Grazing land (*pap*) is always common. An individual can share his agricultural land with kinsmen, such as a daughter's husband or sister's son, and stranger lineages take root in the soil in the first instance through a personal tie of this kind. Sometimes a lineage of strangers flourish at the expense of the lineage whose forebears first gave permission to their ancestors to cultivate the soil and they begin to get a grip on the land and to count their graves and homestead sites in it. Or the lineage which owns the land increases and wants more land for its own members but finds that the land it wants is under cultivation by the descendants of strangers who now regard it as theirs by right and they begin to contest their occupation of it. They cannot directly challenge their use of the land nor just oust them from possession while they are using it, but they encroach on their cultivations and by constant pressure try to squeeze them out. The strangers have redress before European constituted courts but if they are weak they do not care to resort to them because they know that even if they win the case they must continue to live among their more powerful neighbours against whom they have proceeded. For such situations one cannot find rulings in past custom and when disputes of this kind occur to-day settlement depends on a variety of factors, the strength of the stranger lineages, their wealth, their influence with the chiefs and their ability to bribe them, and so forth.

7

This paper is sketchy and the survey on which it is based was superficial. Those investigating the Luo at the present time will doubtless give a fuller, more accurate, and more balanced, account of their social organization. Nevertheless, the enquiry has served its limited purpose in that it has shown that Luo political structure with its lineage framework is in essential characteristics like that I have recorded for the Nuer. There are some differences, which I hope to discuss soon in a comparative study of Nilotic lineages as a contribution towards that study of lineage system on a broader African and world-wide basis which research is slowly making possible. However, it may not prove easy to determine whether the differences are significant till an intensive study of the Luo has been made. All this paper claims to do is to show that the Luo have the same type of structure as the Nuer. Recent research has demonstrated that both Anuak and Shilluk have a lineage structure though it is

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

combined with apical features in different forms of chieftainship and kingship. On the other hand the Lango appear to have a lineage system like that of the Luo and are also like them an acephalous society. Unfortunately it is not possible to judge from Driberg's account how close is the resemblance between Luo and Lango lineages or what is the political function of the Lango lineage, and further research would be required before the Lango can be placed on the basis of this feature in a typological series of the Nilotic peoples.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kiketi* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

Miscellaneous customs.—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

Witchcraft, etc.—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Beluchistan.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

B 791 773

that she left and went on to the Shekwi people in Nyole, where the great grandfather of Mgahanya married her, and she taught him all the secrets of the art of rain-making. The following is the genealogy of the family of rain-making chiefs:—

Agine or Ashue (married the witch).
|
Luchiri.
|
Namonwa.
|
Mgahanya.

The Cult of the "MKIA."

L B 291 171

As is well known, the dress of the female sex in Kavirondo is probably the most scanty in the world. Such as it is, perhaps its most distinctive feature is the tail, or "*mkia*," as it is termed by the Swahilis. This is common to both the Nilotic and Bantu races; among the former its name is "*chieno*," and among the latter "*liroya*." The tail is made of fibre, usually obtained from an aloe called "*tuoro*." Among the Nilotic tribes it is stiff, and fairly short, rather like a bottle-brush, from six to eight inches in length. It is usually ornamented at the top by a few small white beads, or half-a-dozen cowries, and is of the natural colour of the fibre. Among the Bantu Kavirondo it is much thinner, and is, moreover, about twelve inches in length, dyed black, and very pliant.

Finding this peculiar attire among two such different races, one cannot help thinking that it was invented by one and copied by the other, and, if anything, I incline to the view that it was introduced by the Ja-Luo, and copied by the Bantu tribes. The Lur people to the west of Lake Albert, who are very closely allied, both in speech and name, to the Ja-Luo, wear it. The Wamia people on the west side of Elgon, who are also of Nilotic extraction, wear a more elaborate and highly developed form, while many of the women belonging to tribes in the Nile Valley wear a kilt of numerous narrow strips of leather, which, one would imagine, might be fined down to the tail behind, and to the little fringe, often worn in front.

L B 291 484 576

There is an interesting ceremonial connected with this article of dress.

The "*mkia*" is the special mark of the married woman; if, however, a young girl is going on a visit to another village, she can wear one on her journey, but must take it off directly she reaches her destination, and not don it again till she leaves. This is done as a sort of artificial protective mimicry; by wearing the tail she is taken for a married woman, and is not likely to be molested by anyone she may meet on the way.

L B 291 783

If a woman who has borne a child runs out of her house in a hurry—say, because she has been beaten—and goes into another house without the tail, the house she enters is considered unclean, and the husband has to give a goat, which

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936)1950
FL11 Luo FL11

775 133 In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which
171 it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acien* for the Dinka, *acieni* for the Anuak, *tchien* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *lacen* for the Acholi, and *chyen* for the Lango.

753 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of
755 Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 285f. and
775 289) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father there offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 A troublesome ghost is called *jacien* (plur. *jeciendi*), a
626 word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cieno* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and beaten; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

101
174
[171]

The manners and customs of the *Ja-luo*, a fragment of the Nilotic peoples which is now isolated, are very similar to those of the Alur (to the north-west of the Albert Nyanza) and the Japalua (incorrectly called "Shefalu"), who live in the northern part of Unyoro. It would seem, indeed, as though at some time or other the Ja-luo of Southern Kavirondo had not come down direct from the north-west, from the Lango country where their nearest relations reside at the present day, but that a large tribe of Nilotic people closely allied to the Acholi and Lango had formerly

[p.779]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (JA-LUO)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sūk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Marngolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

* In North Kavirondo.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

said that since property has passed to the lineage of a wife it has no claim on her offspring, consequently they take their father's lineage affiliation and can always be claimed by him because they result from his semen.

The Luo conceptualization of primary kinship attitudes is in conformity with the patterns of actual behaviour briefly outlined. The relation of co-wives is visualized as one of jealous rivalry. The term for it in Dholuo is *nyiego* and co-wives refer to one another as *nyieka*.[1] From co-wives themselves this relationship tends to spread to the elementary families of which they are the female heads. Children stick up for their mother's rights over against those of a stepmother. They stand to gain all round from successful competition with the other elementary families of their homestead. This is not of great permanent importance to the daughters, but the sons have everything that is worth while to gain or lose in their rivalry with the groups of their half-brothers. Their inheritance of the most valuable and essential property—livestock and land—depends on the allocation made by their father between the elementary families. But for uterine brothers it also depends on the allocation made between them within their elementary family. Consequently uterine brothers have material reasons for competing with one another, and also for combining together to compete with all other groups of uterine brothers in their compound family, being reinforced in this solidarity by the coincidence of their mother's interests against her co-wives. These pivotal relationships within household and homestead are conceptualized by the Luo as the origin of lineage structure. It might be objected that the orientations noted here are of a kind which naturally tend to be latent in any polygynous family system. The point is, however, that such orientations not only occur in the Luo family but are expected to occur; that the pattern of residence, the kinship terminology, the general conduct of family affairs, and the usual behaviour of its members all reflect this particular alinement rather than any other of a number of alinements possible in polygynous families, and are consciously thought to do so.[2] The main features are represented diagrammatically below (see p. 21).

It is impossible, within the space of this article, to give a full account of marriage types and contracts, the system of inheritance and of succession to property and authority, exogamy, blood-feuds, ancestor worship, and the like. All these matters have a bearing on lineage organization, and I try to give here a brief general account of them, sufficient only to make clear the nature of their connexion with the other material presented.[3]

Exogamy is an attribute of the maximal lineage.[4] This study is mainly concerned

[1] *nyiego* v., to snatch suddenly, or take by surprise; *nyiego* n., the relation of co-wives, jealousy; *nyieka* n., my co-wife, my partner in jealousy.

[2] In fact there are great similarities in this respect with the family structure of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and other East African peoples, but unfortunately the material on them does not tell us to what extent it is reflected in their lineage systems. Compare also Mayer, op. cit., p. 6. The most valuable comparative treatment of family structure from this angle is that of Fortes, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, esp. iii, and *The Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 195–6 note and p. 198.

[3] For further details see Paul Mboya, 'Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi' (*East African Standard*, Nairobi), an English translation of which is to be published under the auspices of the East Africa Literature Bureau. See also Evans-Pritchard, 'Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya', *Africa*, vol. xx, 1950, p. 132.

[4] A Luo maximal lineage, as the most inclusive agnatic descent group based on an accepted and putatively continuous genealogy, may coincide with 'clan', or it may be a segment within it where clan refers to a group united by a sentiment of common descent without this explicit genealogical basis.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

613 Oyugi also said: 'A *dhoot* begins when the sons of one wife leave their father's *dala*, form a *dhoot*, and begin to compete.' It is this competition which sharpens the boundaries, ideological as well as physical, between *dhoudi* and strengthens their internal solidarity. Oyugi's own lineage illustrates his point with the separation of the descendants of Nyariro from those of her co-wife Gaya (84) (Fig. 6).

Obware-Akoko of Kamboya said of *libamba*: 'A man can produce two sons; those two usually, according to custom, leave their father's homestead and make their own near by. Each of them will produce sons and daughters; at one time there might happen a quarrel or disagreement, then one will say to the other: "Now you go away from me since now you are a *libamba* by yourself, and I am a *libamba*." So you find each multiplying and becoming a *libamba* on either side. *Libamba* is not used except when there is a quarrel. Usually a quarrel comes in dividing the bride cattle of a girl or girls when married, when in spite of the old man's distribution the sons dispute it.' Then he referred to his own *dhoot* of Kamboya and said that it had no quarrels and therefore no *libembini* within it, because it is *pacho achiel*—a single homestead (figuratively, of course, for in fact it contains several dozen homesteads, and the original homestead of Mboya himself was probably deserted a century or so ago); but informally even two uterine brothers in a household can quarrel and one say to the other, 'you are my *libamba*'. Obware is a great-great-grandson of Mboya (98). The process of segmentation in his own lineage bears out his account of *libamba*, both in the separation of the descendants of Mboya from those of Omolo (100), and at the next level in the separation between Ogembo (91) and Onyango Adhanja (Fig. 6).

Oyugi-Mboya also said of *libamba*: '*Libamba* starts with quarrels between children of one wife and children of another.' This again follows the structure of his own lineage in the separation of the descendants of his ancestress Nyariro from those of her co-wife Gaya (84) (Fig. 6).

These statements, though at first confusing when taken together, do embody the cardinal principles of Luo lineage structure, and present some of the striking characteristics of Luo thought. This could be confirmed by many further quotations for which there is no room here. The main points may be summarized as follows:

1. *Derivation*

The eponymous ancestor of a lineage may be either a man or a woman.[1]

● [171]

[1] Contrast the discussion of male and female eponyms among the Arabs in Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 28–38. Clearly the Arabian situation was different from that of the Luo. Female eponyms were only found among the earliest ancestors, and in every tribe which had a female eponym those of all its segments were male. By contrast, female eponyms appear at all levels in different Luo lineages, interspersed with male, and the reasons for it are deducible from a study of recent cases of lineage fission (see pp. 40 et seq.). Robertson Smith did not admit the relevance of present residential arrangements and pivotal family relationships to the development of future lineage segments, or that the relations of persons within a family may in a very significant way be mirrored by the relations of large descent groups within a territorial unit. He suggests as a law of general validity that 'where the bond of maternity is so strong that it binds together the children of the same mother as a distinct kindred group against the other children of their father, there also we may be sure that the children of one mother by different fathers will hold together and not follow their father. And this is the principle of female kinship.' Both these situations can be demonstrated over and over again in Luo lineage structure, yet the Luo lineages are strictly unilateral in descent on the father's side. The application of terms whose ety-

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

2. *Constitution*

The solidarity of the lineage (*dhoot*) is likened to that of the mother and her children in an elementary family. 613

3. *Interrelation*

The relation of one co-ordinate segment with another (*libambo*) is likened to the competition between uterine brothers, and to the competition between the sons of one co-wife and the sons of another.

4. *Personalization*

Lineage segments are so closely identified conceptually with the individuals and family nuclei from which they are descended that the latter stand for the former in linguistic idiom.

5. *Compression*

The symbolizing of lineage processes in certain relations between the members of elementary and compound families in the homestead leads to:

(*a*) Telescoping of the time sequence. Changes in lineage structure which took place a number of generations back and over a considerable period are treated as events among individuals of a family in an undifferentiated present.

(*b*) Telescoping of spatial distance. Relations between large social groups or territorial sections are treated as occurrences within single households and homesteads.

6. *Egocentricity*

Lineages are spoken of in the context of the structural position of the speaker, and utterances about them can only be interpreted in this light.

V. NORM AND DEVIATION IN THE SEGMENTARY SYSTEM

GENEALOGICAL segmentation can only be adhered to with absolute consistency as a dominant principle of social organization in situations which allow the irregularities of lineage growth and their consequences to be ignored. On the whole, ritual situations conform to this requirement, whereas political, economic, and many other general social needs frequently do not. The result of this is that in Luo lineage organization it is the *anyuola* groups of the class B system of segmentation that are able to conform most closely to the abstract principles suggested by their genealogical

mology implies derivation from females to groups derived from male ancestors is taken by Robertson Smith as conclusive evidence for a switch from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. Among the Luo the inference from both social action and traditional theory is that terms such as *dhoot* and *anyuola*, whose etymology suggests descent from a woman, are applied sometimes to groups with female and sometimes to those with male eponyms because groups of both types are identical in social function, and both alike reflect the cardinal attributes of these terms as shown in those situations which Luo adduce as symbolic demonstrations of their significance.

The *umunne* and *umunna* (mother- and father-derived groups) of the Ibo are likely to afford an important comparative example, though the data on them are at present inadequate. It will be of great interest to know the real significance, for the social structure and for the process of segmentation, of these groups when they are fully analysed.

[171]